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231 After they had recuperated from the long drives, the cattle were used for both labor and food.

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433 The colonial economy developed in the Recôncavo--in common with
439 Pernambuco, Campinas (Rio de Janeiro), and lesser centers like Sergipe
171 and Alagoas--was distinct from the economy of the south of Brazil. São Paulo, for example, was self-sufficient, buying little from abroad and having little to sell. Bahia and Pernambuco were almost completely dependent upon exchange with European markets, with Portugal acting as the middleman.

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249 Economic Development from 1600 to 1850. By the middle of the
439 seventeenth century most of the institutions discussed above existed in at least rudimentary form. They were nurtured by an expanding Brazilian commercial economy which enjoyed, for the moment, a virtual monopoly in sugar. Bahia was the leading province in Brazil in the export of both sugar and tobacco.[23] The production of these crops was centered almost entirely in the Recôncavo area of the state. The
[567] tobacco was sent at first to Africa, in exchange for increasingly large numbers of slaves for the ever-greedy sugar industry. Slowly, however, a secondary market for Bahia tobacco developed in Europe. With few exceptions the sugar was marketed in Europe and at a high price. The engenhos of Bahia were the largest in Brazil, though still very small by modern standards.[24]

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• 648 The development of the colony did not proceed smoothly. In the mid-seventeenth century Bahia was occupied for a brief period by the Dutch, but the development of the colony faltered only momentarily. On the other hand, the Dutch occupied Pernambuco and the north coast for a longer period. The subsequent transference of Dutch efforts to the West Indies was to have a profound effect upon the future of

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 the Recôncavo, for they took with them a newly acquired knowledge of
• 648 sugar cane cultivation.

175 The eighteenth century opened with a series of disasters for
169 the region. When word of gold discoveries in Minas Gerais (1704)
567 reached Bahia, an exodus began.[25] Slaves were sold at exorbitant prices, and often masters and slaves together went off to the mines. The colonial authorities took drastic steps to halt the flight, but
[731] to no avail. The first quarter of the century ended with floods in the Recôncavo and the discovery of diamonds in the interior. There was a second exodus.[26]

175 In the meantime there were momentous developments in the
171 West Indies. Sugar cane cultivation spread rapidly in the Antilles
249 as the Netherlands and other northwestern European states which had been lucrative markets for Brazilian sugar began their own production in their respective West Indian colonies. In addition to the protected markets which the mother countries afforded, these new centers enjoyed sound economic and geographical advantages. As newcomers to the field of sugar production, the Antilles were free of both the antiquated equipment and the backward techniques which burdened Brazil, and they were closer to the major European markets.[27]

175 The Recôncavo was unable to counter these West Indian develop-
178 ments. In a century and a half of commercial development there had
185 been few improvements in agricultural or industrial methods. There
249 was no conservation of the soil. Only one variety of cane was known, and there was no attempt to develop improved strains. The mills continued to burn expensive wood rather than to use bagasse. Antique, low-yielding crushing mills continued to be used for extraction.[28]

175 At the end of the eighteenth century, however, developments
249 abroad restored to the Recôncavo and to Brazil many of the advantages
178 which it had formerly held in the international market. This
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BB 175 249 433 the traditional values. As has been seen, the re-opening of the markets at first particularly benefited the Recôncavo.

NB 175 433 NB EB [316] The developments in the Recôncavo were shared only partially by the other areas of the Brazilian Northeast. The colonial economy of Pernambuco, the second major center in the Northeast, was not nurtured by a prosperity equal to that of Bahia. The booms in the mineral areas, which had a disruptive effect on the Recôncavo, apparently were less strongly felt in more-distant Pernambuco. In the south of Brazil, neither Rio de Janeiro nor São Paulo shared in Bahia's colonial opulence until the nineteenth century. Moreover, the mining developments, which were a disturbing influence on Recôncavo society, had a stimulating effect on agriculture and trade in the South, especially in São Paulo. Although Minas Gerais attracted some settlers from the South, in the main the mineral development acted as a stimulant to agriculture. Thus the forces of colonial evolution in the Recôncavo were distinctive variants of those characteristic of the whole of Brazil.

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BB 175 The Last Hundred Years--1850 to the Present. The series of external forces which contributed to the revival of the Recôncavo in the early nineteenth century were destined to sweep it from the main current of Brazilian development. The pressure of these outside events were apparent in the Recôncavo as early as 1825, but it was in the last half of the century that the region was relegated to the subordinate position which it occupies today.

B BB 175 567 648 [439] There is a historical connection between the events which first bestowed and later took away Recôncavo prosperity. The collapse in the West Indies sugar industry re-opened markets to Brazil, but it also ended England's economic interests in slavery. With no vested

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interest to deter her, Great Britain became in the nineteenth century the great anti-slavery force of the world. The British government began to press Brazil for a treaty to halt the slave trade. In 1826 a treaty was signed in which Brazil agreed to end the slave trade within four years. However, Brazil had just achieved its independence (1824), and the new national government was too weak to enforce the provisions of the treaty. After 25 years of bitter diplomatic exchanges with Great Britain, the Brazilian government succeeded in fulfilling its treaty obligations, and after 1852 almost no slaves were landed in Brazil.

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The end of the slave trade foreshadowed the end of slave labor in Brazil. The Northeast fought to preserve the system, but it was doomed not only as a result of extra-Brazilian pressures but also because of internal economic development. Just as in the eighteenth century the political capital had shifted from the North (Salvador) to the Central-South (Rio de Janeiro), so in the nineteenth century the economic center of gravity moved to São Paulo and adjacent Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais.[37] At first the developments in São Paulo imitated those of the Northeast, and a sugar industry employing traditional techniques was established. Almost immediately, however, the Central-South began to demonstrate an initiative unknown in the old sugar regions.

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At the beginning of the nineteenth century Bahia was exporting 12,000 tons of sugar, Pernambuco 8,400 tons, Rio de Janeiro 5,400 tons, and São Paulo 600 tons.[38] By mid-century Rio de Janeiro--chiefly Campos, near the mouth of the Rio Paraíba--was producing more sugar than any other province. In 1875, Rio de Janeiro was still the largest producer, with São Paulo second, Pernambuco third, and Bahia fourth. By the end of the century, São Paulo was the largest sugar

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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*249 time and remained high until the 1888 decree which ended slavery completely. Before this time there had already been a great deal of manumission.

175 In fact, it is distinctive of the entire region that the relations
567 between the whites and the slaves were relatively warm and
*249 intimate. Gilberto Freyre describes the intimacy between the
571 moleque (little Negro boy) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestics, between the Negro nursemaid and her white charges, between Negroes and whites in other close relationships on these plantations. A good deal of race mixture occurred. It is still a joke in this region to say that a particular plantation owner "populated the area."

175 The crises through which the sugar industry passed dur-
*249 ing its four-hundred-year history are interesting and worthy
[654] of consideration. During the first fifty years of production (until early in the seventeenth century), the sugar industry prospered and expanded. It was a "period of formation, official protection, and government stimulation, during which the liberties of production, transportation, prices and commerce suffered little or no restrictions."[1] The seventeenth
175 century, however, was full of crises, one of the greatest be-
*249 ing the war with Holland. In 1624 the Dutch attempted to cap-
• 648 ture Bahia but were repulsed. However, they sailed along the shores of the Bay of All Saints, burning and sacking plantations and setting fire to the cane fields. In the north the Dutch succeeded in capturing Pernambuco, which they retained for twenty-four years, also engaging in the production of sugar. In 1644 the Dutch governor, Maurice of Nassau, was recalled to Holland, and the colony was left undirected. The Brazilians revolted and recaptured Pernambuco.

175 In 1666 there was an epidemic of smallpox in the Recôncavo
*249 which reduced the slave population and left many plantation
[731] owners without laborers. There followed a period of near-
[426] famine for some years, due to the lack of food-plant culti-
[458] vation. While this situation continued, plantation masters frequently mortgaged their plantations in order to buy new

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1. J. Wanderley de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1552-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 193. The following three paragraphs are a condensation of the material contained in pp. 193-220 (author's translation).

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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slaves and equipment. Thus began a long series of mortgages which continued for several centuries. The commercial agents in the city, for the most part representatives of Portuguese companies, loaned money to the plantation owners, using the next crop as collateral. They also charged high interest rates. When the next crop did not materialize, nor the next, the plantation owners found themselves inextricably in debt. At the same time the sugar market in Portugal was lost because the sugar was arriving there in a spoiled condition due to poor transportation, a cargo at times taking two years to arrive at its destination. Furthermore, the prices of most necessities were rising, and, in addition, Portugal began to tax the colonists heavily.

In the early 1700's there was a more prosperous phase, due to higher prices for sugar in Europe. Many plantations were reconstructed, enlarged, and modified, and new ones were built. As a result many people went into debt again. During the eighteenth century two major factors turned against the prosperity of the sugar-cane growers: competition in the European market with the French, Spanish, and British, who were now producing sugar on their Caribbean islands; and the discovery of gold in the western part of Brazil. Sugar could be shipped to Europe more rapidly from the Caribbean than from Brazil. It was subject to less spoilage, and there was also probably less governmental interference. As soon as the European market was flooded with sugar, the price fell.

The discovery of gold in Minas Gerais further dislocated the sugar industry of the Recôncavo at the time when it could least afford it. The prices of slaves, metals, cloth, cattle, horses, and all the necessities of life increased. Many of the freemen who worked in the plantations in administrative capacities were enticed away to the mines by the promise of great wealth. The need for slaves at the mines was great, and traders who sold slaves preferred to sell them to the miners, who could pay cash, rather than to the plantation owners, who frequently paid in sugar. During this time there was also a serious shortage of foodstuffs, for many of the smaller farmers who normally raised food crops emigrated to Minas Gerais.

The agriculturalists--those who planted tobacco as well as those who planted sugar--were still being pressed by high taxes. There are many letters and documents from the governing bodies of the colony, addressed to the Portuguese king, telling him of the deplorable situation in which sugar-planters

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found themselves, with no food, their slaves dying, the price of sugar falling, the markets lost, and, especially, overburdening taxes. Most of the documents which remain are pessimistic ones, for during the times of prosperity little was written. At any rate, late in the eighteenth century some measures were taken to lighten the burden of taxation and to provide better means of transportation to Europe than the irregular system of fleets which were frequently spaced two and three years apart. As a result, many plantation owners took heart and applied themselves again to the raising of sugar cane. They were further aided by an increasing market in Europe, which finally became almost entirely theirs at the turn of the century, as a result of the European wars.

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By the end of the Napoleonic wars sugar production was at its best, and Bahia was once again experiencing a pleasurable prosperity. However, 1822 brought the War of Independence, much of it fought in the Recôncavo. The war was supported to a great extent by the plantation masters, both financially and physically. Although they gained a great deal of prestige, they lost two harvests, and their exports fell off greatly. It took them some time to recuperate, and in 1855 they suffered another violent blow, an epidemic of cholera.

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An indication of the difficulties caused by the epidemic is given in the following passage, translated from a document in the inventory of the Baron of Caju made upon the death of his wife, a victim of cholera:

> The family was in a good state of animation and prosperity in 1855, when the fatal epidemic of cholera morbus wasted this Province, invading the home of the Inventoried and causing him horrible damages and enormous losses! The Baroness fell victim to this voracious scourge! Eighty-two of the most valuable and useful slaves had the same fate; the best expediencies, treatment, and vigilant care were of no effect! Almost the entire harvest of this fatal year was lost in the complete absence of field hands, for the number not stricken was small, and the others, convalescents, were truly specters! The harvests of 1856 and 1857 also suffered.

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Soon afterwards a new phase began when the Civil War started in the United States, sending up the price of sugar and increasing the market. Some years after this a disease

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colony's development); gypsies destined to play a role in the subsequent slave trade and to bequeath their name permanently to the section of the city in which they settled; prostitutes and orphan girls sent over in limited numbers as wives by the Crown; and a few hardy peasant colonists, with their families, from Portugal, the Cape Verde Islands, and the Azores.

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This incoming wave of European population met the indigenous Indians and eventually absorbed or expelled them from the coast. In and about Bahia they were the Tupinambás and the Tupiniquins, part of the earlier Tupí expansion from the south, and of very primitive culture. The wifeless soldiers and colonists took Indian or half-breed women, first for concubines and later for legally married wives, and soon a numerous mixed-blood population sprang up which was gradually absorbed into the dominant white. Indian males were annihilated in battle, died from the rigors of slavery, or were driven, together with their women and children, far back into the interior. When they put up too stubborn resistance, whole villages were deliberately exterminated, one of the most effective means being the planting of smallpox germs from the clothing of a recent victim of the disease. The Indians, previously strangers to this European malady, rapidly succumbed.

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As early as the middle of the sixteenth century there began at Bahia extensive and prolonged Negro importation from Africa, and Bahia's Bay of All Saints subsequently served for generations as the principal port of entry into Brazil for this black commerce from the African coast. This involuntary population movement to Brazil eventually became what is, probably, the greatest intercontinental displacement of Negro peoples which ever occurred.

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in perhaps never will be known, but the number undoubtedly ran into millions.[12]

Angola furnished most of the importations during the late sixteenth[13] and the seventeenth centuries; Guinea, during the eighteenth and early nineteenth.[14] By 1710 Bahian to-

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inaction and discomfort is manifested upon the appearance of a purchaser. They start up willingly, to be placed in the row for the purpose of being viewed and handled like cattle: and on being chosen they give signs of much pleasure. I have had many opportunities of seeing slaves bought; for my particular friends at Recife lived opposite to slave dealers. I never saw any demonstrations of grief at parting from each other: but I attribute this to a resigned or rather despairing sensation, which checks any show of grief, and which has prepared them for the worst, by making them indifferent to whatever may occur: besides, it is not often, that a family is brought over together: the separation of relatives and friends has taken place in Africa. It is among the younger part of the assemblage of persons who are exposed for sale, that pleasure is particularly visible at the change of situation; the Negroes of more advanced age do whatever the driver desires, usually with an unchanged countenance. A species of relationship exists between the individuals who have been imported in the same ship. They call each other *malungos:* and this term is much regarded among them. The purchaser gives to each of his newly-bought slaves a large piece of baize and a straw hat and as soon as possible marches them off to his estate. I have often in travelling met with many parties going up to their new homes, and have observed that they were usually cheerful" (*Travels in Brasil, 1809 to 1815* [2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817], I, 205–9).

[12] Affonso de E. Taunay, "Numeros do trafico," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio), September 30, 1936. Estimates made by Brazilian writers range from three to eighteen millions, although the latter figure would appear to be considerably exaggerated. Ramos believes the number did not exceed five millions (*The Negro in Brasil*, p. 6).

[13] Especially after the founding of São Paulo de Loanda in 1575 (Calmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 178–79). See also *Dialoges das grandezas do Brasil*, ed. Rodolfo Garcia (Rio: Academia Brasileira de Letras, 1930), p. 143.

[14] In 1811 an agreement with England, actively enforced by the latter's cruisers, cut off importations from north of the Equator. Angola once more became the principal source of slave supply, and, between 1815 and 1850, approximately a million Angola Negroes, it is estimated, came in (Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 182).

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NEGROES IN BRAZIL

In the sixteenth century a good slave is said to have been valued in Bahia at 50 milreis; in 1692, at 60 milreis; in 1703, at 100 milreis; and in 1800, at 140 milreis.[26] At Pernambuco, early in the nineteenth century, Negroes were valued at 32 pounds sterling; oxen at 31 pounds each, and horses the same; although "by management the two last may be obtained at lower prices," Koster informs us,[27] adding that "plantations of the first class ought to have eighty Negroes at least."

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In addition to Bahia and Recife, there were two other centers of African importation on the coast, at Rio de Janeiro to the south and Maranhão to the north, and one interior region of concentration, the province of Minas Geraes. These five areas received the major portion of all importations and remain today the principal centers of Negro population in Brazil.

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In 1831 a treaty with Great Britain sought to abolish the slave trade. But for a quarter of a century this agreement was so little enforced[28] that an estimated 500,000 additional

[26] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 182. A slave worth 100 milreis in 1830 was valued at five times this figure ten years later, and still more as the pressure of the British blockade continued (Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 472).

[27] *Op. cit.*, II, 139.

[28] "At one time it appeared impossible to abolish the traffic. . . . . The planters declared that without Africans they would be absolutely unable to plant crops; that free labor was not to be had in sufficient numbers for the necessities of agriculture; that only by force could labor be obtained in this hot country; that the citizen, he who was a free man, possessed as his chief privilege 'não trabalhar' [the right not to labor], or at least to work only enough to enable him to eat and to live as 'Deus dará' [God will provide]; that since the 'gente rude' did not lack shelter, being content to live in palm-leaf huts, it was useless to attempt to obtain profitable labor from free men, who were always lazy and inclined to idleness; that the *fazendeiro* who used free labor was soon reduced to penury by the wages paid out and the poor quality of work so secured" (Amaral, *op. cit.*, pp. 472–73). On receiving news of the decree of 1831, the Bahian provincial assembly directed a petition to

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Africans were brought into Brazil, many in United States ships, operated by English capital.[29] In 1846, 50,324 were imported; in 1847, 56,172; and, in the following year, 60,000.[30] This traffic was completely suppressed only by 1852,[30a] Bahia being one of the areas in which it died hardest.[31]

In plant and animal communities different species come

the federal senate, demanding its repeal. At one time a *delegado de policia* in Bahia was dismissed from office for having apprehended a shipment of Africans, although such shipment was obviously illegal under the provisions of this law.

[29] Daniel P. Kidder, *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1845), II, 96–97; Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 179 ff.; Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 319. The most notorious slave-trade case involving a vessel from the United States was that of the "Mary E. Smith" of New Orleans. The ship was brought into Bahia by the Brazilian brig "Olinda" on January 29, 1856, with 370 slaves from fifteen to twenty years of age aboard. The "Mary E. Smith," despite efforts to detain her, had left Boston on the preceding August 24 and sailed to the Gold Coast, where she had picked up a cargo of nearly five hundred Africans. When captured, she had been attempting unsuccessfully for weeks to land her cargo on the Bahian coast. One hundred and six slaves died before the vessel was finally taken and those still alive upon arrival in Bahia were so weakened by starvation and disease that only a few survived.

[30] Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 171. According to figures given by the British Anti-slavery Society, 221,800 Africans entered Brazil between 1840 and 1847 (Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 495).

[30a] Percy A. Martin, *Argentina, Brazil and Chile since Independence* (Washington, 1935), p. 208. The last shipload into Bahia landed October 29, 1851. See Wanderley de A. Pinho, "O ultimo desembarque de escravos na Bahia," *Espelho* (September, 1936), pp. 13–16.

[31] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 236. The *Argos Pernambucano* of January 30, 1850, says: "The way in which free Africans are imported into Bahia and reduced to slavery, with the obvious connivance of the government, is a notorious scandal." In the *Argos Sant'Amarense* appeared the following: "The Governor of the Province himself, at nightfall, on the twenty-first of October, 1849, unloaded in the city of Santo Amaro a large number of newly arrived Africans, which he had brought from the capital [Bahia] in a boat, and transported them to his *engenho*." See also Querino, *op. cit.*, p. 626.

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One must not overlook the fact, however, that during the first years of colonization the letters of the Jesuits contained numerous references to Indian slaves who were "tortured and branded in the face."[54] And later, the kings of Portugal, impressed by reports which had come to them concerning hardships inflicted on Negro slaves in Brazil, more than once wrote to their colonial representatives, exhorting them "to put a stop to such crying inhumanities."[55]

Most reports of cruelties, however, date from the abolition campaign and no doubt reflect the agitation and fervor of that movement. Thus, the able Bahian abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca, reports the case of a Negro in Rio Grande do Sul whose wrists were tied above his head and, after honey had been poured over his nude body, was left to the insects. Anselmo further reports the raping of small children, the use of stocks, the fracturing of teeth with a ham-

from the effects of their wounds (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 145). Fonseca estimates that two-thirds of all the *feitores* (overseers), *capitães de matto*, and *corretores* (slave dealers) in Bahia were either mulattoes or blacks (*ibid.*, p. 151).

[54] Brazilian Indians, who before the coming of the Portuguese had killed their prisoners of war, changed this custom when it was discovered that they could sell their captives to the Europeans. Subsequently the latter organized raids into the interior in search of Indian slaves. The Jesuits fought this traffic, their struggles with the colonists lending a dramatic note to accounts of life in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Gradually their influence at the Portuguese court prevailed, certain restrictions were by royal decree put upon the enslavement of Indians, which, being disregarded by the colonists, led to further Jesuit protest and finally, in 1755, to a royal edict liberating all Indian slaves. Equal legal rights were subsequently granted the Indians, the University of Coimbra was opened to them, and they were even admitted, it is said, to the nobility.

[55] A writer cites three "royal letters" in support, dated, respectively, March 20, 1688, March 1, 1700, and April 27, 1719 (see the anonymous article entitled "Tradiçoes bahianas," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, LVI [1930], 514).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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virtually extinct.[3] Only an occasional individual of African birth may be found, like, for instance, a certain elderly black once prominent in the fetish cults not only of Bahia but also of Rio de Janeiro who was born in Lagos, his father having purchased his mother out of slavery in Brazil shortly before his birth and taken her to Africa. He knows four *Africanos* still living in Rio. In 1936 he met in Brotas (a subdivision of Bahia) an elderly African woman with facial scarification and almost no command of Portuguese. She has since died.

Thus, actual contact with Africa is today little more than a memory in the minds of a few of the older blacks, who recall stories told by their parents or by other Africans of persons, places, and events in Africa; or who years ago visited in the home of African ancestors or were, perhaps, personally acquainted with blacks plying their small vessels between Bahia and the West Coast. However, certain individuals of the older generation still cherish sentimental attachment to Africa, as is indicated by the expression occasionally heard on the lips of an elderly Negro, as he reverently turns his eyes upward toward the sky, "Sou filho de dois Africanos, graças a Deus!"[4] "If I had the money," remarked another black, his eyes lighting up, "I'd go to Africa, to Abeokuta, build me a house, and live like a man ought to."

An elderly Bahian Negro recalled:

> My mother was just a young girl when she was captured by a warrior in Africa. He wanted to sell her to a slave trader in Dahomey.

[3] Since lower-class Negroes who have difficulty in speaking correct Portuguese occasionally attempt to cover up their chagrin by saying that they are *Africanos*, and others, participating in social circles where prestige attaches to the native-born African, may deliberately misstate their origin, the incautious observer may be led erroneously to think that there are a considerable number of Africans still living in Bahia.

[4] "My father and mother were both Africans, thank God!"

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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On that day two younger children were with her, a baby she was carrying on her back and a child she was leading by the hand.

She told me of a terrible thing which she saw on that day. Two warriors were running to catch a young girl. Each grabbed one of her arms, and they began to quarrel, pulling at her and shouting, "She's mine! She's mine!" But neither could jerk her away from the other. Finally one swung his big knife, and slash! He cut the girl in half and told the other man that now he could have his share.

My mother's name was Manjengbasa, which means, "Don't leave me alone." She was born after her mother had lost both of her first two children. She carried a scar on her cheek which meant that she was a Yoruba; for all Yorubas, both men and women, have this mark. She married my father here in Brazil, and when I was born they called me Ógeládê.

When I was thirteen years and eleven months old, my father took me to *Af-ri-ca;* to Lagos, *West-Coast-of-Af-ri-ca*, Nigeria. Ige-sha is two days away. Oyó used to be the capital. And there is Akra on the coast; there is Ashanti, and Groweh, and Ifé, and Egba. My father was from Egba, and his father was from Abeokuta. And there is Efun and Dahomey.

My father was only on a visit. He soon came back to Bahia to take care of his business. He was at that time importing African things. But I stayed in Lagos eleven years and nine months. From 1875 until 1886 I was there. Later I went again to Africa and remained another year. And three years after that I again returned, to sell coral and fine and coarse wool. I bought *pano da costa* to sell here.

My grandfather was a great warrior. He had a large plot of ground, but he was more of a warrior than a farmer. One day while fighting he got an arrow in his arm. He jerked it out and the blood covered him. When, years later, my grandfather died, I was a child of six years.

My uncle also was a great warrior. He was younger than my father. When they brought my father to Brazil, my uncle was left there in Africa.

My grandfather had forty wives. He lived in an *atalaia*,[1] a house

[1] Composed of many dwellings placed side by side and having a common roof.

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as long as from here to the entrance of the fort,[6] just for the family of my grandfather. He was buried in a room. A *quartinha* of water which is always kept full still stands there today.

When my father was born, my grandmother was already an old woman. But she was still very strong. When my grandfather died, she walked all by herself up to the place where they buried him. When I went to Africa, she was in Ibadum. She never saw my father again. When he took me to Africa, she did not get to see him because the Africans were fighting fiercely. No one could travel as far as from here to Rio Vermelho.[7] So my father did not get to see his mother. But when she found out that he had been in Lagos and had left a son there, she never left off speaking of me. She wished to have me stolen, but the men who came to carry me to my grandmother never found me alone. They brought me presents. My grandmother had made me an African food which lasts two or three months and does not spoil. It is made with *fubá* of maize, crushed. All is seasoned with fragrant and savory seasonings, with onions and shrimps, and put in a large pan. It is like a cake they call here *bom bocado*. In the African language it is called *adúm*. Rolled up in leaves they gave it to me. My tutor ate part of it too.[8] For fifteen days we ate *adúm*. When I came back to Bahia and told my father I had eaten *adúm*, he lost almost the whole day crying, because he had not seen his mother for almost fifty years, let alone eaten her cooking. He looked up at me, and said 'You, my son; *you* ate *adúm*!' "

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Some contact with Africa is still maintained through family connections, although these are now rare; by means of African visitors, principally individuals from the crews of English ships recruited in Lagos; and by way of occasional newspapers published on the East or West Coast in Portuguese, English, or even African languages.

Thus, one will occasionally find in the possession of Bahian Negroes a copy of the *Nigerian Daily Times*, published

[6] About one hundred yards.

[7] About three miles.

[8] The boy had been placed in a mission school.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

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in Lagos.[9] In this journal for December, 1932, a Bahian black recently pointed out photos of Cleonice de Assumpção Alakija, "the youngest daughter of Dr. Maxwell P. de Assumpção Alakija, a lawyer of Bahia, Brazil," who "recently graduated as a throat and ear specialist from the Faculty of Medicine at Bahia"; of Dally Assumpção Alakija, youngest son of Dr. Maxwell, "recently graduated in Bahia as a civil engineer"; and of Adeyemo Alakija, their cousin, in the royal robes of an African chief from Abeokuta. The caption of the accompanying article was "A Notable Egba, Adeyemo Alakija."

This African cousin of Bahian blacks had been "honored by His Highness, the *Alaké* of Abeokuta," at a festival celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the Egbas at Abeokuta following severe internecine warfare and had subsequently been installed as "The Barujun of Aké." According to the account, Adeyemo Alakija belongs to a "distinguished family." His father was Marculino Assumpção, "Chief Akigbotum, known also as Elemeji, one of the first men to own a cotton gin in Abeokuta"; and his mother, Maxmilliana Assumpção Alakija, was the daughter of the late Alfa Cyprian Akinosho Tairu, native of Oyó, "a chief of Abeokuta with the title of Morope of Aké," for whom Tairu Lane in Lagos is named. Both of Adeyemo Alakija's parents were born in Brazil, the eldest living member of the family being the Bahian lawyer, Dr. Maxwell Porphyrio Assumpção Alakija, "father-in-law of His Worship, Olumuyiwa Jibouwu, our Police Magistrate."

[9] One *Africano* also possesses copies of *Waasu* ("Preach"), a missionary pamphlet used in Nigeria; the English prayer-book and the Bible, both in Yoruba; the *Nigerian Catholic Almanac* for 1933; a life of Marcus Garvey; and a copy of the *Negro World* for April 19, 1930, the latter given him by a Negro fireman on an English ship which occasionally puts in at Bahia.

[SALVADOR]

BB 175 633 [13]

/9 cont./ voyage from the South Sea to the coasts of Chile and Peru made during the years 1712, 1713, and 1714/, Paris, 1732; Adolphe d'Assier, Le Brésil contemporain /Contemporary Brazil/, Paris, 1867.

BB [548]

Founded in 1549, seat of the general government of Brazil and residence of the Portuguese viceroy until 1763, the date when the capital of the colony was transferred to Rio de Janeiro, Bahia was regarded as "the most Portuguese" of the cities of the American continent. Even today it is one of the most important cities of Brazil (5).

N.B. 13 24 31 316 233

5. The State of Bahia has an area of 563,000 square kilometers and a littoral of 100 kilometers; its territory, of varied geographical aspect, is occupied chiefly by plantations of cacao, tobacco, cereals, by stock farms, and by mines of manganese, chromium, diamonds, iron, bituminous schists, etc. After the national census of July, 1950, the State had 4,900,419 inhabitants, 395,993 of them in the city of Salvador itself. The other most populous cities of Brazil are: Rio de Janeiro (federal district), with 2,335,931 inhabitants; São Paulo, with 2,041,716 inhabitants; Recife, with 522,466 inhabitants; Porto Alegre, 381,964 inhabitants, and Belo Horizonte, with 346,207 inhabitants.

NB 161 BB [62]

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BB 633 *563 [181]

Owing to the conservative and traditionalist nature of its civilization, owing also to the distance that separates it from the other important urban centers, it is considered one of the /10/ demographic and cultural islets of what has been called the "Brazilian Archipelago." As we have said, what makes it particularly interesting is the fact that it was always a melting pot of races, certainly the most representative and the most symbolic of racial relations of the country.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 /13 cont./
562 may not be of African blood (3).
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3. Arthur Ramos, Introduçao a Antropologia Brasileira, II. Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

829 The Indians and the descendants of the cross between Indians
*563 and Whites are generally called cabôclos, but this expression is
192 no longer very common in Bahia and rarely serves to characterize
[178] the corresponding type. The term cabôclo has become, like that
[196] of "my Negro," rather a formula of tenderness between individuals
of any color whatsoever. It must be noted, moreover, thanks to
175 old statistics, that toward the middle of the eighteenth century, in
829 response to complaints about Brazilian "nativism," the Portuguese
• 648 government prohibited the use of the term cabôclo, to which was
641 then attached an insulting meaning, and granted at the same time the
576 civil status of Whites to Indians and to their descendants of mixed
192 blood, so that they could contract marriage with the Whites and
fulfill official duties in the colony; it is in that manner that the
contingents of mamelucos or cabôclos were assimilated with the
192 Whites in the military roles of the time. The word meanwhile
178 lost its insulting import and in our day is even considered a com-
829 pliment when it refers to a cabôclo bom, that is to say, a man of
576 good manners.

The Negroid albinos and the mulattoes with red, blond, or
144 light auburn hair are known by the name of sararás.
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The exact designation of these different types has always /14/
144 represented a difficulty, as much for anthropologists as for the
*563 persons charged with identifying school children, the military,
829 the criminals (1).

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*563 1. According to the Bahian anthropologist Nina
829 Rodriguez (in her book As raças humanas e a
815 responsabilidade penal no Brasil /The Human
[113] Races and Penal Responsibility in Brazil/, 3rd
edition, written at the beginning of the century),
the métis include: 1st, the mulattoes produced
from the cross between the White and the Negro: